

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL KRAKOW
AMCONSUL POZNAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 2194

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TAGS: PFOR, US, PL
SUBJ: PARIM - ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT - PART I

REF: A. 76 WARSAW 1260, B. 76 STATE 106197, C. STATE 038356,
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1. U.S. INTERESTS. OUR LONG-TERM GOALS IN POLAND HAVE REMAINED CONSTANT FOR OVER TWO DECADES, AND I SEE NOTHING IN RECENT EVENTS OR IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE TO SUGGEST THAT THEY SHOULD BE CHANGED. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE POLISH GOVERNMENT BETTER ABLE TO PURSUE POLAND'S NATIONAL INTERESTS AND TO REPRESENT THE REAL WISHES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. THESE GOALS ARE NECESSARILY DEFINED WITHIN THE LIMITS OF
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TWO FUNDAMENTAL AND CLOSELY RELATED FACTS OF LIFE IN EASTERN EUROPE: THE STRATEGIC PREDOMINANCE OF THE USSR AND THE RULE OF REGIMES IN EACH COUNTRY WHICH ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. IN THE SHORT TERM, THESE REALITIES PLACE SEVERE RESTRAINTS ON OUR ABILITY TO PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES IN POLAND. WE MUST CONSTANTLY RECKON WITH THE DANGERS OF THE LATENT INSTABILITY INHERENT IN THE

UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WARSAW AND BETWEEN THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THEIR LOCAL RULERS. BUT DETENTE AND A BETTER US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP HAVE PERMITTED SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS OVER RECENT YEARS IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR GOALS IN POLAND. ASSUMING THAT THERE WILL BE NO SERIOUS SETBACK IN US-SOVIET TIES, THIS PROGRESS SHOULD CONTINUE INTO 1978, ALTHOUGH AT A REDUCED PACE IN COMPARISON WITH THE FIRST HALF OF THIS DECADE.

2. OVERVIEW. US-POLISH POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL RELATIONS CONTINUED TO IMPROVE IN 1976. BILATERAL TRADE WAS JUST BELOW OUR JOINT GOAL OF ONE BILLION DOLLARS, BRINGING ANOTHER US SURPLUS OF OVER \$300 MILLION. CULTURAL CONTACTS REACHED THEIR HIGHEST LEVEL IN BOTH NUMBERS AND QUALITY SINCE WORLD WAR II. POLITICAL RELATIONS ALSO CONTINUED TO IMPROVE. THE BUSINESSLIKE WAY IN WHICH WE HAVE CONDUCTED OUR AFFAIRS IN RECENT YEARS PERMITTED BOTH SIDES TO DEAL POSITIVELY WITH A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES DURING 1976. TRAVEL IN BOTH DIRECTIONS BY LEADING POLITICAL FIGURES REMAINED HEAVY, AND THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AT TOP LEVELS IN BOTH GOVERNMENTS CONTINUED TO GROW. FINALLY, ONE OF THE LAST IMPORTANT POLITICO-ECONOMIC ISSUES REMAINING FROM WORLD WAR II WAS RESOLVED WHEN THE DANZIG GOLD WAS GIVEN TO POLAND IN THE AUTUMN OF 1976. DESPITE THESE SIGNIFICANT FORWARD STRIDES, THE OUTLOOK FOR US-POLISH RELATIONS IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR. SOME OF THE FACTORS WHICH WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE ARE:

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A) US-SOVIET RELATIONS - US-POLISH TIES ARE DEPENDENT ON THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW. IF, FOR WHATEVER REASON, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USSR SHOULD DETERIORATE, THE US-POLISH RELATIONSHIP WOULD ALSO SUFFER.

B) REGIME WEAKNESS - THE FRAGILITY OF FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK'S REGIME WAS EXPOSED BY THE VIOLENT WORKER REJECTION OF THE PRICE INCREASES PROPOSED LAST JUNE. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GIEREK CAN RECOVER THE LIMITED PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE HE HAD BEFORE LAST SUMMER'S EVENTS.

C) DEBT AND RISING EXPECTATIONS - GIEREK'S BOLD GAMBLE ON INVIGORATING POLAND'S ECONOMY WITH LARGE INFUSIONS OF WESTERN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY HAS PUT MORE ATTRACTIVE GOODS ON THE DOMESTIC MARKET, BUT AT THE SAME TIME UNLEASHED CONSUMER DEMANDS WHICH THE REGIME HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SATISFY. ALTHOUGH LAST JUNE'S EVENTS MAY HAVE TRIMMED THE PUBLIC'S EXPECTATIONS SOMEWHAT, THE LEADER-

SHIP WILL REMAIN UNDER INTENSE PRESSURE TO BRING THE POLISH LIVING STANDARD CLOSER TO WESTERN EUROPEAN LEVELS. MOREOVER, POLAND'S LARGE EXTERNAL DEBT LIMITS THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPORTING WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AT THE 1971-1976 RATE. THE REGIME'S INABILITY TO SATISFY DOMESTIC DEMAND AGGRAVATES ITS ALREADY STRAINED RELATIONS WITH POLAND'S WORKERS.. EXPORTS REQUIRED TO FINANCE THE DEBT--HAM, COAL, TEXTILES--ARE PRECISELY THOSE CONSUMER GOODS WHICH ARE MOST SOUGHT BY POLISH SHOPPERS. THUS, PUSHING EXPORTS TOO HARD COULD LEAD TO INCREASED CONSUMER DISSATISFACTION.

D) EXTERNAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS - GIEREK'S GAME PLAN ASSUMED THAT GROWING WESTERN ECONOMIES WOULD EASILY ABSORB THE ADDITIONAL POLISH EXPORTS REQUIRED TO PAY FOR EXPENSIVE PURCHASES OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT. HOWEVER, THE LEADERSHIP FAILED TO ANTICIPATE THE PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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LONGED WESTERN RECESSION, RAPID INFLATION IN AGRICULTURAL AND RAW-MATERIAL PRICES, AND GROWING PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT. ALL HAVE COMBINED TO REDUCE POLAND'S EXPORT POTENTIAL. WHILE SLACKNESS IN THE WEST HAS MADE IT EASIER FOR POLAND TO OBTAIN INTERMEDIATE BRIDGE FINANCING, THE WESTERN RECOVERY MUST ACCELERATE IF POLISH EXPORTS ARE TO GROW SIGNIFICANTLY.

E) HELSINKI AND HUMAN RIGHTS - PUBLIC CRITICISM OVER THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP HAS INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS. MUCH OF IT FOCUSED INITIALLY ON THE USE OF PHYSICAL REPRESSION IN LATE JUNE AND EARLY JULY, 1976, AGAINST THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE VIOLENCE EVOKED BY THE ABORTIVE PRICE INCREASES. THE AUTHORITIES SO FAR HAVE NOT FOUND A WAY TO SUPPRESS THIS CRITICISM, LEADING MANY POLES TO HOPE THAT THE EXERCISE OF TRUE CIVIL LIBERTIES MAY EVENTUALLY BE POSSIBLE IN A COMMUNIST STATE. CRITICS POINT TO GIEREK'S SIGNATURE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND ARGUE THAT IT IS BEING VIOLATED BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES. THEY HAVE BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL IN MAKING THEIR CRITICISMS KNOWN TO THE WESTERN PRESS. THE DETAILED REPORTING OF WESTERN EUROPEAN MEDIA, AND ESPECIALLY OF RFE, ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CRITICISM OF POLISH PRACTICES HAS ATTRACTED WIDESPREAD DOMESTIC INTEREST, CREATING SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE REGIME IN MANAGING THE POLISH PRESS. IN SPITE OF OUTWARD APPEARANCES, SOME FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CITIZENRY AND THE AUTHORITIES HAVE OCCURRED IN POLAND. MORE PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY, PRIVATE GROUPS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED TO MONITOR POLISH COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, AND THE REGIME APPARENTLY DOES NOT

BELIEVE ITSELF STRONG ENOUGH TO SILENCE THESE
DISSENTERS.

F) POLISH-FRG RELATIONS - ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS AS
INFLUENTIAL AS THE US-SOVIET LINK, THE HEALTH OF THE POLISH-
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WEST GERMAN RELATIONSHIP IS STILL IMPORTANT FOR US. A
SERIOUS DECLINE IN THIS BILATERAL CONNECTION WOULD HAVE
SOME NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE OUR
POLICY OBJECTIVES IN POLAND.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 2194

3. ISSUES, OBJECTIVES AND COURSES OF ACTION.

A) POLITICAL - FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF US INTERESTS,
THE HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUE IN POLAND FOCUSES PRIMARILY ON

EMIGRATION. THIS IS THE ONLY SERIOUS BILATERAL POLITICAL ISSUE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND WARSAW. THE GOP HAS REFUSED TO RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO OUR REPEATED PLEASE ON BEHALF OF AMERICANS WISHING TO HAVE THEIR RELATIVES JOIN THEM PERMANENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES. THE AUTHORITIES IN WARSAW HAVE APPARENTLY CONCLUDED THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS CAN CONTINUE TO IMPROVE DESPITE THEIR POOR PERFORMANCE ON THIS QUESTION, AND THEY HAVE BASED THEIR RESTRICTIVE POLICY ON A NARROW DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES A DIVIDED FAMILY. TO SOME EXTENT, THEIR POSITION IS UNDERSTANDABLE. CONFIDENTIAL

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A LIBERAL EMIGRATION POLICY WOULD REPRESENT A REAL ECONOMIC LOSS TO POLAND OVER THE LONG TERM AND WOULD CREATE A CONTINUING FLOW OF PETITIONS ON THE PART OF NEWCOMERS IN AMERICA FOR THE RELATIVES THEY LEFT BEHIND. HAVING SAID THIS, HOWEVER, WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE POLISH CLAIM THAT BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND COUSINS LEGITIMATELY SEEK THE IMMIGRATION OF THEIR POLISH RELATIVES. WE MUST UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLE THAT FAMILY REUNIFICATION IS A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT AND REMIND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES THAT THEY, TOO, HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO THIS PRINCIPLE. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE SHOULD PRESS WARSAW TO RAISE THE CURRENT RATE OF DEPARTURES AND TO REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE BACKLOG OF UNSATISFIED PETITIONS WHICH HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER THE PAST FIVE-TO-SIX YEARS. WE DO NOT NEED TO MENTION A FIGURE, BUT THE ISSUANCE OF IMMIGRATION VISAS AT THE RATE OF 2,500-TO-3,000 A YEAR WOULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEM. ON THE MULTILATERAL SIDE, THERE IS NO LIKELIHOOD THAT THE POLES WILL STRAY FAR FROM THE SOVIET LINE ON MOST INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS, HOWEVER, WE HAVE SEEN THAT WE CAN DIFFER WITH THEM IN A REASONABLE FASHION. I BELIEVE THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP EXERCISES A MODERATING INFLUENCE IN WARSAW PACT COUNCILS. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE CONTINUE TO CONSULT WITH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES FROM TIME TO TIME AND TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO BELIEVE THAT THEIR COOPERATION ON MATTERS OF CONCERN TO US CAN BRING DIVIDENDS IN TURN FOR THEM.

B) ECONOMIC - IT WAS CLEAR EVEN BEFORE LAST SUMMER'S ERUPTION THAT THE BLOOM WAS OFF POLAND'S RAPID ECONOMIC EXPANSION. WITH ALL OF HIS PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, GIEREK SEEMS DETERMINED TO PROCEED WITH HIS ORIGINAL PLAN TO EXPAND TRADE WITH THE WEST, AND WITH THE US IN PARTICULAR, AND TO MAKE MORE CONSUMER GOODS AVAILABLE TO THE POLISH PEOPLE. RECENT POLICY CHANGES ENCOURAGING PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND SMALL BUSINESS ARE ALSO IN OUR INTEREST. CONFIDENTIAL

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NEVERTHELESS, THE AMBITIOUS GROWTH, PRODUCTIVITY, INVESTMENT, AND EXPORT GOALS OF GIEREK AND CO. ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ACHIEVED. FOR US, THIS MEANS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF A \$2-BILLION TRADE TURNOVER BY 1980 MAY NOT BE REACHED, AND AMERICAN FIRMS WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE IN TOUGHER BARGAINING TO GET THEIR SHARE OF THE POLISH MARKET. THIS APPLIES PARTICULARLY TO NON-AGRICULTURAL TRADE. THE USG SHOULD KEEP ADVERTISING POLAND AS A GOOD MARKET, HOWEVER, AND SHOULD ENCOURAGE MORE COMPANIES, INCLUDING SMALL FIRMS, TO GO AFTER THE AVAILABLE BUSINESS. FOR THE EMBASSY'S PART, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK AND DISSEMINATE UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION ON GOP ECONOMIC PLANS, PRIORITIES, AND FOREIGN-TRADE REGULATIONS. WASHINGTON AGENCIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO DO THE SAME. OUR EXPORTS TO POLAND CAN GROW ONLY IF POLISH ENTERPRISES DO WELL IN THE US MARKET. WITH THIS IN MIND, WE MUST DEALY MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH THE BELIEF OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES THAT OUR PROTECTIONIST ACTION ARE EFFECTIVELY FORECLOSING THE POSSIBILITY FOR THE SALE OF MANY OF THEIR GOODS IN THE UNITED STATES. UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO CONVINCE THEM THAT OUR ACTIONS ARE NOT DISCRIMINATORY AND NOT POLITICALLY INSPIRED, THEY WILL FEEL OBLIGED TO SHIFT SOME OF THEIR PURCHASES TO OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE COMPETITORS. I AM ENCOURAGED BY REPORTS THAT OUR REGULATIONS AND PROCEDURES AFFECTING IMPORTS FROM NON-MARKET ECONOMIES ARE UNDER REVIEW IN WASHINGTON. I URGE THAT THIS REVIEW BE COMPLETED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND THAT THE POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO OUR EXPORTS TO THE POLISH MARKET BE FACTORED INTO IT.

C) PRESS AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES - THE RAPID EXPANSION OF OUR EXCHANGES PROGRAM WITH POLAND HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST GRATIFYING DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT YEARS. THIS PROGRAM WAS A SUBSTANTIAL ONE EVEN IN EARLIER YEARS, WHEN RELATIONS WERE NOT SO GOOD. THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT IS AN APPRECIABLE AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON A WHOLE GENERATION OF POLISH INTELLECTUALS. FOR THE COMING YEAR, I URGE MORE OF THE SAME.

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THE USG SHOULD CONTINUE ITS SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIVATE EFFORTS IN THE EXCHANGES FIELD. ON THE INFORMATION SIDE, WE HAVE CAPITALIZED ON IMPROVED BILATERAL RELATIONS TO EXPAND OUR CONTACT WITH A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF KEY POLISH OPINION-MAKERS. WHILE OUR ABILITY TO PLACE ITEMS IN THE CENSORED POLISH MEDIA REMAINS LIMITED, WE ARE, I THINK, BETTER OFF HERE THAN IN ANY OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY. THE NEWLY EVOLVING FOREIGN POLICY OF CARTER

ADMINISTRATION PROVIDES US WITH SPECIAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES. WE WELCOME THESE.

D) MILITARY - THE POLISH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IS BEGINNING TO INTRODUCE NEW EQUIPMENT INTO ITS FORCES, INCLUDING AIRCRAFT, SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES, AND TRACKED, ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS. THE COST OF THESE NEW SYSTEMS MUST BE WEIGHED AGAINST COMPETING DEMANDS ON THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AS A WHOLE. OUR GUESS IS THAT THE POLISH MILITARY LEADERSHIP MAY BE DISAPPOINTED IN ITS SHARE OF THE PROCUREMENT BUDGET OVER THE NEXT YEAR OR SO. AS FOR OVER-ALL STRENGTH AND NUMBER OF PERSONNEL, NO WEAKENING OR REDUCTIONS ARE LIKELY TO OCCUR. WITH REGARD TO BILATERAL MILITARY CONTACTS, WE SEE LITTLE CHANCE THAT A NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE VISIT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE POLES IN 1977. WE HAVE GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THEY WOULD WELCOME A VISIT IF THE GENERAL EAST-WEST ATMOSPHERE IMPROVES AND PROVIDED--A SINE QUA NON--THE USSR ACCEPTS SUCH VISITS. THE PROBLEM OF A NAVAL PORT CALL IS GOVERNED BY THESE FACTORS, AS WELL AS THE MORE DIFFICULT ONE OF RECIPROCITY. POLISH PRIDE REQUIRES THAT A PORT CALL BY A US NAVAL UNIT BE MATCHED BY THE VISIT OF A POLISH SHIP TO THE US. BUT SUCH A VISIT IS TOO EXPENSIVE FOR THE MODEST BUDGET OF THE SMALL POLISH NAVY.

E) SCIENCE - WE ARE STILL MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM THE DE-LISTING OF THE ZLOTY AS AN EXCESS CURRENCY TO THE JOINT US-POLISH FUND AGREED UPON IN 1975. WE SHOULD BEGIN
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THIS YEAR TO THINK ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS IN 1981, WHEN THE JOINT FUND IS EXHAUSTED. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE US OBTAINS ITS SHARE OF BENEFITS FROM THE COOPERATIVE PROJECTS SOON TO BE WHOLLY FINANCED BY POLISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOINT FUND. THIS WILL REQUIRE A CAREFUL REVIEW OF POLISH PROPOSALS AND TIGHTER ADMINISTRATION OF PROJECTS. WE SHOULD ALSO DEVELOP A UNIFIED USG POLICY FOR RESEARCH SUPPORT IN POLAND, ONE THAT TRANSCENDS THE ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES. THIS TASK CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER STATE DEPARTMENT COORDINATION.

4. ADMINISTRATIVE AND RESOURCE IMPLICATIONS. THESE ARE BEING TRANSMITTED BY SEPTTEL.
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